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its head men when they require to visit the Government Station at Buka Passage, as they are called upon to do on the occasions of the annual visit of the Administrator (see Pl. 1 *a*). 501

There is a special series of terms for designating the size of a *mon* according to the number of *poan*: 501 192

koak, small *mon* for children to play with, or large enough for one man.
poboak,[1] *mon* with two *poan*, i.e. suitable for two paddlers and a steersman. May be used for bonito fishing.
pokukan, *mon* with three *poan*, the size usual for bonito fishing.
potana, *mon* with four *poan*.
potonim, *mon* with five *poan*.
potonom, *mon* with six *poan*.
posawun, *mon* with ten *poan*, the largest now made.

Dimensions of *mon* with three *poan* 501

Length, 27 ft. 4 in. from bow to stern.
Width, 3 ft. at widest part, in the middle (inside edge of *warin*).
Width of planks, about ½ in.
Depth of side plank (*warin*), i.e. total height above water, 1 ft.
Length of *waisinan*, 6 ft. 9 in., of which pattern extended for 3 ft. 6 in.
Floor, 5 planks each about 6 in. wide.

Launching of mon. Canoes are never given names. When a new *mon* is put into the water for the first time, it is carried down to the shore, from the shelter where it has been during the later stages of its construction, on the shoulders of some of the men who have worked upon it. I have seen a small one (with three *poan*) carried on the shoulders of two men. A crew of men and boys man it, and it is taken out a short distance, paddled round for a while, and then brought in and put into the shed which has been prepared for it on the shore. The men concerned in the making of it then meet in the men's house and eat ceremonial pudding which the owner of the *mon* and his friends have previously prepared. If there is any over when they have all eaten as much as they wish, they send it to their womenfolk, who eat it in their own quarters. The men who have helped in the making of a *mon* receive no payment other than this feast, but when they wish to make one for themselves they would call upon the owner for his help in turn. Any man may own a *mon*; I never heard of a woman doing so. As the labour of making [552] [482] [343] [574 476] [422] 501 426

[1] These words are made up of *po* (for *poan*) prefixed to the ordinary numerals.

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Manufacture. Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The

name of the tree from which the wood is taken is *tolos* (P.) or *toras* (K.). Some villages do not know how to make these instruments for themselves; those who require one either buy it from other villages or pay workmen to come to their own place to make it. There were three unfinished ones in the deserted village of Gomen; those who commissioned them had not wished to pay the men of Hanahan to finish them. The best are said to be made by the people of Sollos, the hill district of Buka, to whom the art was first taught, according to the legend. Ownership of a *garamuts* is individual, and is restricted to persons who are *tsunaun*. A Kurtatchi man bought a fair-sized instrument from the island of Pororan for one fathom of *paio* (ceremonial currency of flying-fox teeth), one fathom of *beroan* (shell-disk currency), and ten bamboo lengths of *oin* (red paint). The man who made it demanded another fathom of *paio*, but did not get it.

They are made in the bush, where a shelter is erected over the spot. In the olden days they were shaped with stone or clam-shell implements, but now the outside is worked with metal blades hafted like an adze. Sticks are fastened along the top to define the narrow opening. The inside is then hollowed out with iron pig-spears or with knives fastened on to long rods. This used to be done with clam-shell tools. Leaves are rubbed on the instrument in process of working to make it easier, so that it will be finished quickly. They are also rubbed on the hands of the worker, together with lime, and then smeared over the slit-gong. I could not learn if any form of words is used with this procedure. If the instrument is left too long unfinished the wood gets too hard to work. To make one is considered quite an important undertaking. If two people work on it fairly constantly it takes about three weeks. Only a few people know the procedure; they pass on their knowledge to any one they care to select. Anybody can watch it being made, but the women take no part in making it.

Slit-gongs vary considerably in size. The largest I saw measured about 8 feet in length, the smallest about 3 feet. None were made at the village of Kurtatchi, but Karabun of Tabut made a small one at my request. This, though smaller than those in general use, was more than a model, since it was used in several dances before being handed over to me. The people were delighted with its tone, in fact some of them wanted it to be retained in the village instead of being given to me. It is decorated with a conventional pattern.

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Woven designs.

301 531 [438] The woven arm-bands are obtained from the people of the mountains, and are not made locally. The meaning of most of the designs could not be ascertained. That figured in Pl. 67, no. 5, which somewhat resembles a Greek key pattern, was said to represent a man, but no explanation was forthcoming.

765 531 [565] A number of different patterns are incorporated in the mourning

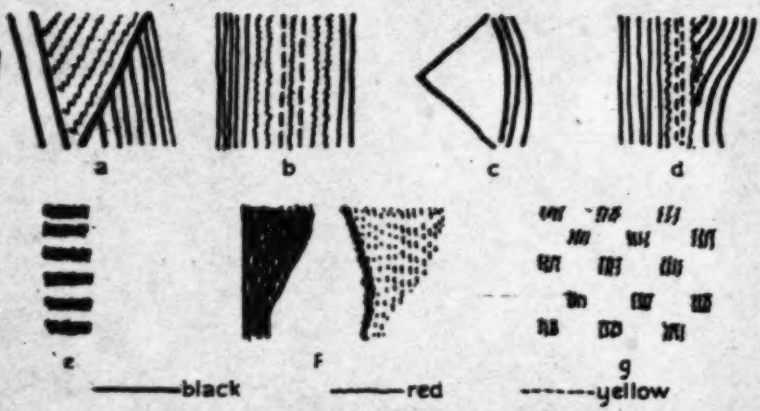

FIG. 28. Patterns on mourning belt.

belt woven by the women on the occasion of the death of a person of rank (Pl. 75, no. 1). These are all traditional, and were explained as follows (the letters refer to Fig. 28): (*a*) *pekpeko*, name of pattern; (*b*) *taparo*, name of pattern; (*c*) *wuwus*, a little fish found on the reef at low tide; (*d*) *bas*, the iguana; (*e*) *wirē*, a small sea-urchin plentiful on the reef; (*f*) *katʃian*, croton leaves; (*g*) *owan a tō*, fruit of the sago palm.

Patterns on pottery.

323 531 [422] The only patterns used on the Buka pottery are the simple nicks and lines, made with the crinkled edge of a shell, or with the finger-nails, round the edges of the pots (Pl. 61*a*). At Malasang, where the pots are made, I was told that these marks, besides being put on for ornament, also served as a sign of ownership. But I noticed that the potter put the same pattern on several consecutive pots, so no monopoly of pattern could be claimed by the several owners.

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437 438 [251] [422] failing him, brother, son, or other male relative, to provide fish for exchange. Sometimes a man would apologize for not selling me some fish for which I had asked him, on the ground that his wife would not have enough for the *toan* next day. A supply is sometimes prepared in advance by half-smoking the fish so that they will keep for a short time. Each woman's load is her personal property, and the goods for which she exchanges it are also her property, for the use of her own household. There is no pooling. If they are short of fish they will sometimes supplement it with sticks of tobacco.

437 [571] [609] I accompanied my friends from Petats on several trips to the mainland of Buka for this purpose. When the two parties met, packs were undone and a rapid inspection of fish and counting out of taro took place. The people of each party kept together; they went round holding out the goods they had to offer, and the buyers saw to it that the fish were of the appropriate size for the number of taro offered in exchange. I saw one woman try hard to obtain two small fish for four taro, but eventually she had to be content with one. Sometimes they would get very excited and snatch the fish and taro from each other, or two women would grab the same article, almost tearing it in pieces. Two of the Buka women brought loads of dried opossum, and these also were exchanged for fish. The whole affair was got over as quickly as possible; there was very little gossip, and it was clearly regarded as a business, not a social occasion. Both sides began their homeward journey as soon as the exchange was finished, not stopping to chat or to chew betel, though we usually sat down to do so as soon as we were well out of sight. Even now, there is a certain amount of distrust between the people of the coast and the people of the hills, though relations are outwardly friendly.

437 438 [211] The fish-taro exchange is a permanent feature in the life of all the villages in this area. In the case of exchanges between distant villages, appointments are made from one meeting to the next by exchanging bits of string in each of which a knot has been tied for each day which is to elapse before the next excursion. Some specified individual is in charge of the string, and cuts off one knot each day till the time arrives. On the occasions on which I accompanied the party, we seldom waited for more than a short time before the other people arrived. Once, when they were rather longer in coming, some of the women wanted to go farther along

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or even made especially, to be used as a medium of exchange is only doubtfully represented, since tobacco is smoked, and the strings of shell disks function also as ornaments. The strings of teeth may perhaps approximate to it, since they are made to serve as valuables and are worn only very exceptionally for ceremonial purposes. But they are not quite typical of the 'money' stage, because they have a ceremonial significance, and are reserved for use on certain specified occasions, and because some are regarded as heirlooms and would on no account be parted with by their owners. The recent introduction of English and Australian shillings by white planters and traders brings the area to the fourth stage, the use of coin, i.e. a medium of exchange authorized by the Government with a fixed value. This will probably spread till it has superseded the others, except perhaps the use of stick tobacco.

RECOMPENSE FOR SERVICES RENDERED

A man's friends will help him with a task which is more than he can compass alone, e.g. the building of a house or a canoe. Such services are voluntarily given, and are never withheld when asked for. But it is expected that the recipient will, in his turn, help those who have given their services when they are in similar need. As a rule, he will make a small feast to mark the completion of the work, at which all who have assisted him are presented with ceremonial pudding and taro (but not pig unless the occasion is a very special one). One such feast, for the completion of a *mon*, is described on p. 379. The canoe remains the personal property of the man who initiated its building. When it is taken out for bonito fishing, it is recognized that he has the first claim on the catch, and if only one fish is hooked it belongs to him. If there are several, he shares them with the men who went out with him; a large catch is distributed among the people of the village.

Women who attend at the funerary rites of a dead person to perform the ritual weeping are provided with food, both to eat at the time and to take back home with them. On one occasion some women from Kurtatchi went to the funeral of a child at Tabut; it was the second child that had died in the same family within a few days, and they said they went because they were sorry for the parents. Among them were the relatives of a lad who is betrothed to the sister of the dead children. They were presented with pots when they left. But it was explained to me that the pots were given

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she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawutf*, is held, each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.[1] These trees are then his personal property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

[1] The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.

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224 all the people who participated in the hunt; they are cut up and divided equally; each man then takes his own share home. If he so [565] desires, the *tsunaun tʃan* can claim a portion for himself, whether or no he was present at the hunt. If a large number of pigs are wanted for a special feast, wild pigs thus caught are kept alive till wanted, when they are put into the common stock of food.

231 Domestic pigs are killed only on ceremonial occasions. The day when this will inevitably happen is anticipated with mixed feelings by their owners, pride in being able to furnish the contribution required of them being tempered by grief at the loss of a pet. No one, however, would ever refuse to part with his pig when occasion required. Domestic pigs only, never wild ones, are used in economic and ceremonial transactions. Many of these have been noted in their appropriate context.

Other possessions.

231 Dogs are much valued as personal possessions.[1] A good hunting
422 dog is greatly prized by its owner and coveted by others. They
435 are bought and sold, but never form part of a ceremonial payment as pigs do. One day four men came to Kurtatchi on their way back
436 to a mountain village; they bought a dog from Pinari for which they paid him 10*s.* in shillings. They carried it away with them, its legs tied with strips of bark, and its mouth and eyes covered with half a coco-nut shell put on like a muzzle, a hole having been cut through which the dog could breathe.

422 Canoes are owned by the men, but their families may use them.
562 A woman does not own a canoe unless her husband is dead, then she may take his. While he is alive she will ask his permission when she wishes to use it, and if he wants it himself he will go to another man and borrow one for her.

422 For the rest, the men have their fishing-nets, and other apparatus, pig-spears, musical instruments, &c.; some still cling to war spears, clubs, and ornamented arrows of the olden days, which they carry now on ceremonial occasions only. The women all possess black-
[412] lip oyster-shell knives, which they make by grinding down the shell on lumps of rough coral; *kōbū*, and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens on the back; cleaned-out coco-nuts for holding

[553] [1] Dogs are given names of the same kinds as those given to pigs. One, for example, was called Patú, because the rest of the litter died, and it was thought that by and by he would die too (*patú tomet in*).

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water; cooking pots, bought from Malasang; and such baskets as they choose to make. Each woman also owns a hood for observing the rules of avoidance. Both sexes cherish their woven armlets, necklaces, and other ornaments, their pipes, and their decorated lime-pots, though these are now giving place to tins obtained from the white man. Most people now possess trade knives for cutting bush, weeding, &c., and some few also axes and adzes. This makes no claim to be an exhaustive list of personal possessions, but it does, I think, include the bulk of them. Although these people take pleasure in ownership, and are as delighted as children at the acquisition of, say, a specially large or good knife (I have seen a man doing a dance of joy at one which I had given him) or a string of beads, they do not seem to strive particularly to amass quantities of possessions, beyond what they need for their own use. 'Riches' consist of ceremonial currency and pigs, everything else is incidental. Ornamented spears used to rank in this category, and still do in the central mountain districts, there forming part of the transactions connected with marriage, as do also stone axes, which are no longer valued in the coastal districts.

Records of possessions.

To keep a record of the number of coco-nut trees owned by the inhabitants of the village, bundles of the stiff centre rib of the coco-nut leaf frond are kept, containing one rib for each tree. A tally of pigs is kept by making notches on a stick. All the pigs belonging to the village are recorded—or are supposed to be recorded—on one stick, but this does not mean that they are communally owned. These records are required by the Government and the bundles and sticks are given to the District Officer at his official visit. I do not think any record would be kept except for this requirement, and its accuracy is open to considerable doubt.

ATTITUDE TO THEFT

To steal ceremonial currency made of teeth (*imun*) is a major offence, one of the two such offences recognized by these people, the other being to take another man's wife, for which the same word (*a mot*) is used. The customary punishment is that the convicted person shall be taken to the beach and all who wish shall have the right to shoot at him with spears and arrows. He is,

barbs) uarāu; the shaft is called unga and farther south kungkung. [411 171]

In most cases one sees on the arrow shaft an engraved black design above the individual knots of the cane. In Buka this design is called korakoroto. For a long time I regarded it as simply an ornament, but in recent years I have come to the conclusion that the engraved design is to be considered a sort of trademark whereby the maker designates his ware. To be sure, I did not succeed in ascertaining beyond a doubt whether the design is supposed to represent the name of the maker or the name of the district where the arrow was made. But this much is certain: in Carola Harbor (Buka) I [31] was told precisely the place of origin of arrows I had acquired by trade on the north coast of Bougainville; and, upon asking how they were able to specify the origin so precisely, I received the reply that the design on the knots of the arrow shaft was the korokoroto of this or that place, whereby the places were mentioned where I had acquired the arrows. 411 422

c) Bows

The bow is made from the outer hard wood of a type of palm; as a rule it is about 2 meters long, about 4 centimeters wide in the middle, and gradually tapers toward the ends. The outer side is flat and almost always dyed dark-brown to black. The side facing the string is convex and often polished to a high gloss; along the middle there runs a single or double black line. When the bow is being used, this serves the marksman as a sight, since the bowstring and this line must always be in a certain relation to each other when the arrow is being released. The best bows come from the interior of Bougainville and are highly coveted in the coastal regions as well as in Buka. The bowstring is twisted out of strong plant fibers and frequently wrapped with the often mentioned yellow fiber material--partially to prevent the string from raveling and partially also as an ornament. The string is permanently attached to one end of the bow, and the other end is easily detachable so that the bow can be strung more tautly or more loosely at will. If the string is to be adjusted, the bowman holds the bow upright before him holding the lower end with the big toe of his left foot, and the other end with his left hand. With this he bends the bow gently and 411

As far as nets are concerned, I observed seines of great length everywhere. Their breadth or depth varies from 75 centimeters to 2 meters, and the length from 50 to 300 meters. The very large nets are always the common property of a village or the inhabitants of a small island. In addition, one finds also the hand nets described by Guppy, which are fastened to a frame that is open at the bottom. These also have the most varied sizes. There are small ones, about 1 1/2 meters long, and others that are 8 to 10 meters long. As a rule these nets are used in such a way that a whole group of men surround a school of fish and then, with nets set adjacent to one another, gradually decrease the size of the circle so that the fish cannot escape. Fishing by means of square nets, which are fastened to the four corners of a cross of bamboo cane, does not extend on the east side of Bougainville any farther north than the Martin Islands. In sheltered waters one frequently sees high frames of thin tree trunks or bamboo canes, between which spread nets hang. The fisherman sits on the frame and drops the net, in which normally some bait is placed, into the sea; when he sees that fish are swimming above it, he cautiously raises it and thus catches the prey. 226 227 [422]

Fishing by means of a kite is carried on all the way to Buka. The kite is made from a type of broad palm leaves; the light cord to which it is attached is fastened to the boat; another string, from which a fish hook hangs, extends from the kite to the surface of the sea. The boat is propelled against the wind by its occupants; if a fish bites, the kite sinks, and the catch is pulled in. On the high seas one frequently sees bonitos being caught with hooks. Here it is necessary that the boat be propelled rapidly. Therefore bonito fishing takes place in the large fast boats that are manned by many rowers. Then a long fishing rod of bamboo is set out on the right and on the left, and to each is attached an approximately 30 meter line, and to this the hook. Iron fishhooks have replaced in part the original hook, but the latter still preferred for bonito catching. This hook has great similarity to the fishhook of the Polynesians; the rather long arm, to which the line is fastened, is a piece of tridachna shell of, at most, 9 centimeters in length and 1/2 centimeter in width with an oblong oval cross section. At the upper end a notch is cut so that the line may be fastened better; at the lower end there are two or three notches on each side, which serve to secure the approximately 4 centimeter long curved, very sharp hook of tortoise shell. [177] [321]

On the reefs fish are caught with a spear, and also with arrows.